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Japanese Defense policy legacies of the past, challenges for the future

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JAPANESE DEFENSE POLICY: LEGACIES OF THE PAST, CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

by

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JAPANESE DEFENSE POLICY: LEGACIES OF THE PAST, CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

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ABSTRACT

Japan faces new security challenges due to the rise of China, the potential nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and the distraction of the United States forces caused by the "War on Terror". This will mean that, increasingly, Japan must take care of its own defense requirements. Unfortunately, this will not be an easy transition for a country with a past of militarism and colonial expansion, an aversion to nuclear weapons, and a political structure that has purposely limited the role and resources of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF). This thesis examines the legacies of the past – militarism, colonialism, the aversion to nuclear weapons, and the political structure that emerged after 1945, and assesses how those legacies impact the adaptation of the JSDF to the new security requirements of the 21st Century. The basic conclusion is that Japan needs to emerge from under the security umbrella of the United States and become a military power commensurate with its economic power.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis provides a historical review of three legacies that will affect the future development of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces as a regional power. Japan faces new security challenges due to the rise of China, the potential nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and the distraction of the United States forces caused by the "War on Terror". This will mean that, increasingly, Japan must take care of its own defense requirements. Unfortunately, this will not be an easy transition for a country with a past of militarism and colonial expansion, an aversion to nuclear weapons, and a political structure that has purposely limited the role and resources of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (JSDF). This thesis will examine the legacies of the past – militarism, colonialism, the aversion to nuclear weapons, and the political structure that emerged after 1945, and assess how those legacies impact the adaptation of the JSDF to the new security requirements of the 21st Century.

A. MAJOR QUESTIONS AND ARGUMENT

There are three reasons for Japan to become more involved in the security and defense of the East Asian region. The first is China's emergence as an economic power which has allowed Beijing to devote more resources to building up their military power. The second factor is the erratic behavior of North Korea and the nuclear threat which it poses. Finally, the recent war in Iraq and the continuing "War on Terror" have forced the United States to commit major forces to the Middle East and elsewhere around the globe. This is evident in that troop strength on the

Korean Peninsula is being reduced at a time of major tensions there. These three factors challenge Japan's traditional reliance on the United States for its security. Japan must be prepared to defend its Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) which are vital to its trade and prosperity. Tokyo also will be required to reassess its aversion to a missile defense shield. Finally, Japan may even be forced to consider the acquisition of nuclear arms. In short, Japan's practically free ride in matters of security is drawing to an end. Japan must begin to shoulder political and military responsibilities in the region that equal its economic power and influence. The major questions that emerge are: How have ancient legacies influenced past (pre-war) and present (post-war) JSDF development? Should Article 9 of the Japanese constitution be amended? What are current Japanese defense policies? What will be the future challenges for the JSDF?

The methodology used in the research for this thesis consists of the following steps based on a comprehensive literature search of books, articles and internet based materials. The history of Japan and the JSDF since the Meiji Restoration will be addressed, as well as the dislocation and distortions to Japanese institutions caused in the inter-war years by imperial expansion driven by Japanese armed forces. The impact of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on Japan's political culture will be assessed. Finally, this thesis will assess the legacy of the American-led reconstruction of Japan after 1945. This will be used as a basis to address current Japanese attitudes toward its defense problems, as they relate to the JSDF. It will involve a comprehensive review of

government reports concerning issues with the government and security of Japan. Some interviews are cited to gain critical insight and understanding of current geopolitical issues concerning Japan. The current challenges within the Far East region and how they might affect Japanese defense policy will also be evaluated.

B. CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER SUMMARY

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter II will cover the history of Japanese imperialism in the Asian Pacific region and evaluate how that history affects the current decision making process in Japan with regards to its SDF and how the countries in the region have been and will be affected by past Japanese Imperialism.

Chapter III will evaluate the Occupation Era Post-1945 which encompasses the nuclear and reconstruction legacies. This chapter will focus on the Japanese constitution, specifically Article 9, and how it has limited the growth of the JSDF. It will also review Japanese views on nuclear weapons and how those views affect current Japanese regional security decisions. It will also give a brief synopsis of the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA) organization.

Chapter IV will access contemporary Japanese defense policy and the challenges for future Japanese defense policies. Also, it will analyze the impact of future Japanese defense policies with regards to their regional and global impact.

Chapter V will summarize the findings and present conclusions and recommendations regarding the fact that Japan needs to accept a larger portion of the regional

security role so as to free up the United States military for other missions. Further research areas will be proposed.

II. JAPANESE MILITARISM/IMPERIALISM

The rise of Japanese Imperialism and its fall following the defeat by the United States changed the security dynamic in almost every nation in Asia. In addition, its fall created a distinct culture of anti-militarism in Japan that persists today. World War II has also left a legacy of fear among Japan's Asian neighbors of what a militarily strong Japan is capable of doing. As Japan enters the 21st Century, it finds itself on a road to greater military capability and global responsibility. Many nations fear that Japan's re-emergence as a regional power maybe the rebirth of Japanese militarism. While it is unlikely that Japan will ever revert to the imperial impulses of the early 20th Century, it is important to understand what Japanese militarism means to Japan and to its neighbors.

To understand Japanese militarism, one must first look at its cultural and historical origins. The causes are varied and often difficult to determine. They range from the societal issues, such as the samurai's bushidō code or the strict Tokugawa era social hierarchy, to political factors, such as the formation and powers of the Meiji era cabinet. External factors like the spread of Western Imperialism in Asia and the integration of Western technology and economic models in Japan also drove Japanese expansion. This chapter will examine some of the external and internal influences on the rise of Japan's unique type of militarism and how excesses of militarism produced the strong anti-military backlash of the post-war years.

A. ORIGINS OF MILITARISTIC CULTURE: SAMURAI AND BUSHIDO

The Japanese origins of bushidō date back to the 7th century, when the Yamato court used conscripts and court aristocrats to develop a national military. Events during the 8th century, however, led to the ending of national conscription and the decentralization of the Emperor's powerbase. The Emperor Kanmu had sought to expand his influence to more of the Japanese main island of Honshu. The campaign ultimately proved unsuccessful and in order to maintain security, he bestowed the titles of shōgun and began to delegate the responsibility of managing the outlying areas to the regional clans. By the mid 12th century, the rise of a definitive warrior class, the bushi, and stronger competing warlords, or daimyō, overpowered the central government.[1]

The bushi developed into two classes, the rōnin who served no individual lord and the samurai who were obligated to a lord. During the early Sengoku Jidai, or warring states period (1467-1615), rules for becoming a samurai were fairly flexible. But in 1586, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who had risen to power from very humble origins to become the defacto ruler of much of Japan, ruled that the samurai could only obtain their title through inheritance, and that only the warrior class were authorized to carry weapons. By rigidly enforcing these rules, the strict Japanese caste system that remained in effect through the early 20th century, was adopted throughout Japan. Besides solidifying his control in much of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi also turned his attention

[1] Library of Congress, *JAPAN - A Country Study* [Internet Site] (Library of Congress, accessed 17 October 2003); available from http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/jptoc.html.

beyond the traditional focus of the main island of Honshū. He expanded control to the outlying islands of Kyūshū and Shikoku, as well as conducted two unsuccessful military campaigns into Korea.[2]

After Toyotomi Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged as the next leader of all of Japan. He resurrected the title of Shōgun because he controlled the entire country and founded a system that would last until 1867. Over the next 250 years, the bushidō code was further developed to reinforce the societal position of the relatively nonproductive samurai class. The bushidō code emphasized the virtue of unwavering service and espoused the honor of dying as a warrior without disgrace. The same time that this culture was developing, Japan closed itself off from the outside world and saw a time of great peace. This left the samurai class, which had grown to almost 6 percent of the population, idle and without direction, and often without employment.[3]

When Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in Yokohama in 1852, the Tokugawa government and the population's patience with the samurai class was already showing signs of strain. In 1867, under pressure from a coalition of marginalized daimyōs and Imperial court officials, the Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshinobu resigned as head of state and declared the restoration of imperial rule. The fourteen-year-old Emperor Meiji was instated as the leader of the Japanese Empire. The group that had engineered the final fall of the

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[2] Wikipedia, ***Wikipidia Online Encycclopedia*** [Internet Site] (2003, accessed 20 November 2003); available from http://en2.wikipedia.org/wiki/.

[3] Marius B. Jansen, ***The Making of Modern Japan*** (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 101-111.

Tokugawa dynasty published a five-point statement, the Charter Oath, which abolished feudalism and proclaimed a modern democratic government for Japan. Although a parliament was initially formed, it had no real power, nor did Emperor Meiji. Power had in actuality passed from the Tokugawa Shōgun into the hands of the daimyō who had led the Restoration. Japan was for all intensive purposes controlled by an oligarchy, the genrō, which was comprised of the most powerful men of the military, political, and economic spheres.

In 1877, the samurai class was officially disbanded and many samurai with no other sources of income fell into poverty. They were often forced to sell the very swords that had been their status symbol and had passed from father to son for generations, just to buy food. Some of the higher-ranking samurai and daimyō took an active role in politics; others turned to their connections with the merchant class[4]; others found employment with the military. Others still, such as Saigō Takamori who had originally been one of the key supporters of the Meiji Restoration, rebelled against the restrictions placed on the samurai class.

The 1877 rebellion in Kyūshū was the last civil war fought in Japan. The rebel forces were strictly opposed to the modernization attempts of the government. Many took their opposition to modernization so far as to refuse the use of firearms, which had actually been introduced to Japan in by the Portugeuse in the mid 1500s.[5] The Imperial forces were able to raise a force of over 65,000 soldiers

[4] For further information on the relationship between the Samurai and Merchant classes see page 7 below.

equipped with rifles, who easily defeated Saigō and over 18,000 of his troops, although at a cost of 6,000 dead and another 10,000 wounded.[6] With the death of Saigō Takamori, so died the dreams of a resurrection of the samurai class.

The Japanese code of bushidō remained and would continue to resurface throughout the early 20th century. Wishing to modernize their naval and army doctrine and training in 1873, the Japanese government brought in the British Commander Archibald L. Douglas, who introduced British discipline, ceremonies, uniforms and customs to the Japanese Naval Academy, which had been founded in 1871.[7] The British system of training stressed discipline above all else, something that was already a cornerstone of Japanese bushidō training. As Japan began expanding outwards, military leaders called more often on the militaristic teachings of the past and began to draw more on the bushidō code of honor. General Anami Korechika Japan's Minister of War, in World War II, , was fond of saying, "obeying a command is a virtue."[8]

In addition, the Meiji Emperor became the central figure in the government and in a sense became the very symbol of Japan, in much in the same way as Louis XIV's ***l'etat, c'est moi,*** for the Emperor ***was*** Japan. As such, the

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[5] Jansen, 7.

[6] Alan Booth, ***Looking for the Lost: Journeys through a Vanishing Japan*** (New York: Kodansha International, 1995), 156. Alan Booth's book provides a unique perspective of the 1877 Civil War, as the author followed on foot the path that Saigo Takamori took.

[7] Ronald H. Spector, ***At War, At Sea: Sailors and Naval Warfare in the Twentieth Century*** (New York: Viking, 2001), 9.

[8] Pacific War Research Society, ***Japan's Longest Day***, 1st trade paperback ed. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2002), 104. It is interesting to note that this strict discipline was chiefly responsible for keeping most troops under control after the surrender, although small groups did initially resist the idea of surrender.

Japanese soldier was taught to revere the Emperor above all else. However, since the Emperor was a distant and mysterious figure, many young officers soon came to believe that they understood the true goals and desires of the Emperor better than the senior officers appointed above them.

This hubris was a main factor in the assassination of Marshal Chang Tso-lin in June 1928 by Japanese officers of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria with neither the permission from, nor knowledge of, the senior officers back in Tōkyō. When the Minister of War, General Shirakawa Yoshinori learned that Japanese officers were not only involved, but also responsible for the death of Marshall Chang, he refused to believe it.[9] Many in the General Staff believed that it was impossible for an officer of the military to act independently of the wishes of the Emperor and therefore no crime could have been committed. Of the two key officers involved in the assassination, only one was ever tried, and that being for dereliction of duty for failure to post appropriate guards.[10] Similar independent action at Mukden, Manchuria in 1937 would instigate the Japanese invasion of Mainland China.

It was the evolution of this sort of independent action by junior members of the military and the lack of accountability for misdeeds that many Japanese and even foreign nations after the war would cite as the main cause of militarism in Japan. While it is likely this is a major

[9] Takehiko Yoshihashi, ***Conspiracy at Mukden: The Rise of the Japanese Military***, Yale Studies in Political Science, vol. 9 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 57-58.

[10] According to Yoshihashi 59, 148, Col Kōmoto Daisaku was convicted of these charges, but was still promoted to Director of the South Manchurian Railway Company in 1932.

factor in the uncontrolled rise of militarism, it would be erroneous to assume this was the only factor. Nonetheless, this lack of accountability in the military officer corps caused a deep level of distrust of military personnel that were repatriated after the war. In 1954, when the Japan Self Defense Forces were established, they were placed under a civilian authority, accountable to the Office of the Prime Minister, for exactly this reason.

B. HIERARCHAL ORIGINS OF JAPANESE SOCIETY

Initially the development of a well ordered and disciplined military mirrored many of the social structures that existed in Japan. The concept of social hierarchy that developed in the Tokugawa era was rigidly stratified and each person's status was fixed by inheritance. Every family posted their hereditary status and class position on their doorway. This position dictated the clothes and food that they could buy and the type of house that they could live in.[11] Below the Imperial family and court nobles were five classes: the samurai, the farmers, the artisans, the merchants and finally the outcasts who held jobs shunned by normal Japanese and were relegated to living in communities that did not appear on land surveys.

This social structure though was being put to the test in the late Tokugawa. As the number of samurai increased, it became harder for lower ranking samurai to maintain a standard of living befitting their class. In addition, as the merchant class was able to increase their capability to conduct commerce, they increasingly ran into the limitations of their social class; they could not move from

[11] Ruth Benedict, ***The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*** (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 61.

their smaller quarters to larger estates. A natural partnership developed between the samurai, who were in need of money, and the merchants who were in need of status. As the merchant and samurai families intermingled through marriage and adoption, the strict military mindset of the samurai was altered.[12]

Part of the reform of the Meiji restoration aimed to break down the traditional Tokugawa class structure. The samurai class was disbanded and the army abolished the practice of assigning rank in accordance with social background and the use of the Japanese honorific language when talking with superiors. This being said, the Japanese hierarchal mindset did not disappear overnight.[13]

Japan's sense of hierarchy moved also to the colonies that it established throughout the Pacific. The closer the colonies were to Japan, the higher their rank among the "Children of Yamato." The highest of these children were the Okinawans, the Koreans as middle, and the Formosans as the youngest. This label was applied by Japan to benefit the inhabitants of these countries, but the Japanese were unable to grasp the resentment that these designations of inferiority caused in the various ethnic groups.[14] As the various nations in Asia rejected Japanese rule, the soldiers became more violent in their dealings with the populace. Even when it became obvious to the soldiers that the occupied nations had rejected the social order put to

[12] Ibid, 71-73. many modern day companies trace their origin to the merger of the samurai and merchant class. Honda, one of the most powerful modern day companies in Japan is one such company.

[13] Ibid, 77-91.

[14] Alan D. Christy, "The Making of Imperial Subjects in Okinawa," in ***Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia***, ed. T. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 153.

them by the Japanese, the soldiers clung to their beliefs and instructions. The more the occupied peoples resisted, the harsher the response by the Japanese.

At the same time that the Japanese military was bringing "order and discipline" to some of the nations of Asia, the Japanese feared becoming the victim of Western powers. As Karel Van Wolferen wrote, "A common Japanese term, ***higaisha ishiki*** (victimhood consciousness), reflects a diffuse but fairly strong sense that the world cannot be trusted and that Japan will always be a potential victim of capricious external forces."[15]

This distrust had grown in the 1930s, when Japan endured racial slights and discrimination by the West including "the unequal treaties of the nineteenth century, discriminatory immigration policies in the United States and elsewhere, and humiliation in the founding moments of the League of Nations, when Japan's request for a simple declaration of 'racial equality' was rejected."[16] At first the Japanese government tried to improve the West's understanding of Japan through a variety of English-language publications as well as lectures, films, exhibitions, and performances of the Japanese arts abroad.[17] These efforts had little effect in improving the understanding of Japan in Western countries, nor did it greatly improve the Japanese's understanding of other

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[15] Karel Van Wolferen, "No Brakes, No Compass," ***The National Interest*** 26 (1991): 26. The idea of higaisha ishiki is still part of Japanese thinking today. For a study of how this ties into modern Japanese business dealings see Robert M. March, ***The Japanese Negotiator: Subtlety and Strategy Beyond Western Logic*** (New York: Kodansha International, 1988).

[16] John W. Dower, ***War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*** (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 204.

[17] Ibid, 97.

nations. The result was a growing belief that only through military force could Japan be accepted as an equal among the nations of the world.

C. ASIAN IMPERIALISM: JAPAN JOINS THE CLUB

The Meiji government's decision to push for greater modernization and a significant role in Asian politics was directly related to the worldwide expansion of Western nations. Meiji leaders like turn-of-the-century Premier Yamagata Aritomo aimed to "establish the independence of our country and to increase the nation's strength in facing the Western powers."[18]

In 1881, a Yokohama newspaper published a report by a foreigner who stated, "the Japanese are a happy race, and being content with little, are not likely to achieve much."[19] It is obvious now that the author could not have been more wrong. In the late 1860s and early 1870s Japan was already on the way to becoming a regional power. Disagreements with the United States regarding Hawaii and other strategic islands in the Western Pacific, as well as Russian and European expansion into China (especially Manchuria), began to become more heated and public. In 1871, natives of Formosa killed fifty-four persons from the Ryukyu Island chain that were shipwrecked there. Although both Japan and China claimed the Ryukyu Islands, Japan used this attack as a pretext to send 3,000 troops to the islands three years later.[20]

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[18] Roger F. Hackett, "The Meiji Leaders and Modernization: The Case of Yamagata Aritomo," in ***Changing Japanese attitudes toward modernization***, ed. Marius B. Jansen, The Conference on Modern Japan of the Association for Asian Studies (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 244.

[19] Walter LaFeber, ***The Clash: A History of U.S.-Japan Relations***, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 32.

[20] Ibid, 43-44. Japan's claim with China over possession of Formosa

Japanese expansion into Korea also began in the 1870s. Through a display of gunboat diplomacy that Commodore Perry would have been proud of, in 1876 the Japanese forced Korea to open trade and consular jurisdiction. The 1876 treaty also forced Korea to distance itself from Chinese extraterritoriality, an event that would later lead to the Sino-Japanese War in 1894.[21] In 1895, as unrest spread in Korea, Japanese operatives, probably members of - or connected to - the Kokuryūkai, or Black Dragons Society, conspired with Korean dissidents to assassinate Korea's Queen Min, setting Korean-Japan relations back to this very day. After the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, in 1905 Japan removed the final obstacle to annexing Korea, all it needed was a justification for the world opinion. The trigger event came in 1909 when the Governor-General of Korea, Ito Hirobumi, was assassinated. Within a year, Korean opposition to Japanese reforms were crushed and Korea was officially annexed by Japan. [22]

While Japan was working to increase its footprint in Asia, it was also pushing for greater status in the international community. The treaties that had been signed in the 1850s and 1860s had given foreign nations exceptional judicial and economic privileges in Japan. In 1871, Iwakura Tomomi led a mission of Japanese government and academic personnel on a 22-month mission to the United States and 11 European nations. As a member of the Iwakura

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was settled formally in 1895 with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which formally gave control of the island to Japan.

[21] Jansen, 424. For further reading on the politics of Japanese involvement in Korea see Jansen 424-436.

[22] The United States profited quite well from the Japanese occupation. From 1897-1939 America had access to the Un-san gold mine, which earned a total profit of approximately $15 million. LaFeber, 51.

mission said while addressing the city of Sacramento, California, "We come to study your strength, that, by adopting widely your better ways, we may hereafter be stronger ourselves, ...we shall labor to place Japan on an equal basis, in the future, with those countries whose modern civilization is now our guide."[23] In addition, the mission discussed changes to the treaties, but was unable to bring about any substantial changes. The United States and European powers insisted that treaty revision would not take place until Japan reformed its legal system along Western lines. It was not until 1894 that any treaty provisions for extraterritoriality were formally changed.

With Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Japan emerged as one of the major powers of Asia and was soon competing with Western powers for more colonies. In March 1897, the United States and Japan nearly came to blows over the American-run Republic of Hawaii. The government of Hawaii, fearful of a shift in the balance of power toward Japan returned more than a thousand immigrants back to Japan. The Japanese responded by demanding an indemnity and dispatching a cruiser to Hawaii. This drew the attention of the American naval Strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, who in a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt urged the United States immediately to annex the islands.[24] Roosevelt had preferred to annex Hawaii, but

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[23] Hackett, 245. For very detailed account of the Iwakura Mission see Kume Kunitake's ***Iwakura Embassy 1871-1873: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe.*** Princeton University Press, 1965.

[24] Kenneth Wimmel, ***Theodore Roosevelt and the Great White Fleet: American Sea Power Comes of Age***, 1st ed. (Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 1998), 88-89.

with a war brewing with Spain, he was content with maintaining the status quo.

When Japan defeated Russia in 1905, America once again took notice. America had only recently assumed control over the islands of Samoa, Guam and the Philippines and saw the rising power of Japan as a threat to the Asian balance of power. By 1912, when Emperor Meiji died, Japan had not only achieved equality with the West but had actually surpassed them in East Asia.

While the rest of the world's attention turned to Europe on the eve of World War I, Japan saw an opportunity to expand their empire at the expense of Germany. After the war, when China requested Japan return German occupied territory in China, Japan responded with the "Twenty-one Demands," issued in 1915. One of the most controversial of these demands was article 4, which involved expanded access to Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.[25] Japanese expansion into China and Siberia concerned Western powers. Starting with the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-22, efforts were made to control Japanese military expansion. A final agreement was reached with Japan in the London Naval Conference of 1930.[26]

In Japan, the final agreements were pushed through the Cabinet over the objections of the Naval General Staff. This struggle developed into a legal battle over the interpretation of the Meiji Constitution. The Navy General Staff argued that they had the right to arm as the Emperor had agreed prior to the conference and that the acceptance

[25] Yoshihashi, 2.

[26] For a full detailed account of the Japanese disagreement over the London Naval Conference see Yoshihashi 61-83.

by the Cabinet was contrary to the wishes of the Emperor and "a violation of the imperial prerogative of supreme command."[27] The result was a rift in the Navy between the older and more senior Naval Officers who had not been in the fleet for quite some time, and those young officers who were operating in the fleet who saw the treaty as hindering Japanese expansion in Asia.[28] In the years leading up to World War II, the growing rift in the military became more vocal, eventually providing an opportunity for hardliners in the military to completely co-opt the Cabinet government.

D. CHECKS AND BALANCES IN THE JAPANESE CABINET

The lessons learned by the Iwakura mission were brought back to Japan and heavily studied and debated. The mission saw as a foremost requirement the need to formalize a new central government structure through the drafting of a Western style Constitution. The Meiji Constitution, adopted in 1889 brought the competing daimyōs of the Tokugawa era under a central government. Under this strong central nation-state the government had the power to push through social, political and economic reforms.

At the start of the Meiji era, the agrarian and growing working class pressured the Japanese leadership to develop a publicly elected representative government along a Western model. However, many of the former daimyōs feared losing their power base. In response to this, the Meiji Constitution established a bicameral system of government with an elected lower house and an upper house made up of nobles. The Meiji Constitution drew heavily

[27] Yoshihashi, 78.

[28] Ibid, 62.

from the Prussian Constitution of 1850, which had developed to "safeguard state prerogatives from popular control."[29] As Japan did not have any true noble class besides the few daimyō, it was decided that high standing members of society, many former daimyōs, would be given titles such as Prince, Duke and Lord which allowed entry into the upper house. The lower house, although elected, was not done through truly popular means. The Meiji Election Laws only allowed men who paid a national tax of greater than 15 yen a year to vote, which accounted for only about 5% of the population, mostly those being landlords.[30]

The reform of the cabinet had provided the Minister of War, the Army and the Navy with direct access to the Emperor. In addition in 1900, Yamagata Aritomo, while premier, ruled that only an active military officer could serve as War or Navy Minister, a rule that gave the military control over the formation of any cabinet. When the Emperor Taisho took the throne in 1912, what balances that the Emperor Meiji had been able to maintain disappeared. The military was able to influence the cabinet enough to attain the desired decisions on issues that benefited them. As more hard-lined members rose to power in the military, the control of the Cabinet greatly increased. In addition, the military with direct access to the Emperor via the Army and Navy General Staff could make decisions without informing the Cabinet, "at the behest of the Emperor." This is another example of the lack of accountability of the military, at the higher levels, which

[29] Jansen, 390. According to Jansen, the Japanese Constitution was also influenced by the German scholar Herman Roesler who was the legal advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later the government itself from 1878-1893.

[30] Ibid, 415.

contributed to deep level of distrust by the civilian population, of the military personnel that were repatriated after the war. In this case, it was the "military leaders" that were responsible for taking advantage of the Japanese population.[31]

E. ECONOMIC POLICY REFORM

Although culturally the Japanese and Western nations did not see eye to eye, the level of technological and economic cooperation was quite astounding. The economic systems established in the Meiji era were a result of the Japanese government's view that the fall of China was a result of their inability to create a modern nation along an industrial model. By adopting Western technology into their own system, Japan's leaders saw that they could protect the integrity of the Japanese mainland and ensure the prosperity of a 2,600-year-old empire. The Canadian diplomat E. Herbert Norman best summarized the Japanese economic policy of the late 19th Century.

> The policy of the Meiji Government was to initiate strategic industries, to endow lavishly the defense forces, to subsidize generously a narrow and comparatively weak merchant banking class in order to encourage its entry into the field of industry. The reverse side of this policy was the marked disproportionately heavy tax burden on the agricultural classes, by the stinting of enterprises less vital than those connected with defense, and by a general impatience at any sign of unrest or democratic protest which might precipitate a domestic crisis and so hinder or retard the task of reconstruction. Nevertheless, it was this policy which succeeded, in the very speedy creation of

[31] Once again we see hagaisha ishiki; this is a common trend in Japanese thought following the War.

> industries, a merchant marine, an overseas market, and an efficient navy.[32]

After the return of the Iwakura mission, Japan moved on at a rapid pace to develop its heavy industries to support Japan's expanding military and industrial needs. The Meiji government developed a deliberate strategy to modernize strategic industries and subsidize the relatively weak banking system in order to encourage investment in industries deemed important to the development of a modern Japan. This contrasted with many European developmental models such as Germany in which the driving force for modernization was a strong "amalgamation of German banks."[33] Unlike most second and third-tier developmental nations, Japan funded its modernization with almost no outside investment or foreign loans. The Japanese concentrated a heavy tax burden on the agrarian class and then stifled the development of new industries that did not support the modernization of an advanced heavy industry to support a strong military.[34]

The Japanese also began a concerted propaganda campaign centered around phrases such as ***fukoku kyohei***, (rich nation, strong military).[35] By the mid 1880s, four major industrial arsenals with satellite plants and three government shipyards were fully operational and supplying

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[32] E. Herbert Norman, ***Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period*** (New York: International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 208. Quoted by Yoshihashi 112-113

[33] Alexander Gerschenkron, ***Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*** (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 15. Gershenkron's views of tension between advanced and backward nations and the need for state intervention fit the Japan model well.

[34] Norman, 208. Quoted by Yoshihashi 112-113.

[35] LaFeber, 77.

the modern military force. Arsenals in Tokyo and Osaka employed almost 3,000 workers and had Belgian, French, and German technicians and engineers repairing arms and producing large quantities of explosives and shells.[36] These plants did more than provide ammunition to the military; they also helped provided the basis for the industrialization of Japan. Six of the ten private textile firms that began operating in the 1880s relied on steam engines produced at the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal. In addition the Nagasaki and Hyogo shipyards, originally developed to meet the military needs, were eventually sold to Iwasaki Yatarō, the founder of Mitsubishi zaibatsu, and Kawasaki Shōzō, the founder of Kawasaki, respectively. Both Mitsubishi and Kawasaki continued their close relationship with the military. In the fall of 1893, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, Kawasaki built eight warships within a two-month period.[37]

The Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905 also provided the impetus for a major spike in the expansion of Japanese industry. While the small family owned manufacturing businesses of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period provided the initial spark, by the end of the Meiji era in 1912, the Japanese factories had developed a core group of over 150,000 skilled industrial workers. The table below highlights the impact that military operations had on expanding the industry of Japan.

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[36] Kozo Yamamura, "Success Illgotten? The Role of Meiji Militarism in Japan's Technological Progress," *The Journal of Economic History* XXXVII, no. 1 (1977): 114. In 1884, the Tokyo arsenal employed 2,094 workers, the Osaka arsenal employed 925.

[37] Ibid: 117-120.

Table 1. Number of Workers in Military Arsenals vis-á-vis Private Firms in Shipbuilding, Machinery and Machine-Tool Industries[38]

Year	*Workers in Military*	*Workers in Private*
1899	25,074	20,872
1903	53,593	32,029
1907	93,704	55,829
1910	68,605	46,834
1912	76,526	69,810

The constant push to supply the military with greater capability and numbers to support Japanese expansionism was seen as a driving force in the modernizing Japanese industry. However, this had a very detrimental side effect. From 1890 to 1919, the annual budget expenditures for military spending remained between 30%-50% of Japan's annual budgets (this was between 10% and 20% of the total national income).[39] In March of 1927, and as a prophecy of things to come throughout the world, thirty-five banks, to include the Bank of Taiwan, one of the largest in Japan, were forced to close. The scandal forced a change of government. At the same time in Nanking, fighting between the Nationalists and Communists threatened Japanese people living in China. The new Cabinet led by Tanaka Giichi sought to focus on China to distract public opinion from the deepening financial crisis at home.[40]

By the early and middle 1930s, social unrest was becoming more violent, while some of this had more to do with the desire of a small group of officers and politicians to seize more power for them and the military,

[38] Ibid: 124.

[39] LaFeber, 77.

[40] Yoshihashi, 12-13.

other groups were truly concerned with the heavy taxes that had been placed on the agrarian sector. The burden that had allowed Japan to fund the building of its economy and military could not be maintained when the rice, silk and oat market crashed in 1932. From 1932 to 1935 the price of these commodities dropped almost 50%.[41] Many military officers had joined the military from an agricultural background, mostly because it was the only way for them to escape heavy burdens being put on this sector. It was these young officers who believed the only way for Japan to succeed in the future was through greater expansion overseas.

The war years witnessed the culmination of Japan's problems. Expansion, which was supposed to increase Japan's security, actually worked to undermine it. Furthermore, it brought civil-military relations to a nadir, as the Japanese, correctly, saw the death and hardships of war as the direct result of the "expand or die" mentality instilled by the Meiji Restoration and progressively militarized government in the 1930s, and the lack of civilian control of the military. The consequence was the nuclear holocaust of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Therefore, the Japanese emerged from the war firmly committed to working for peaceful regional relations, intent on establishing civilian control of the military, along with an aversion to nuclear weapons.

The surrender of Japan in 1945 followed by the U.S. occupation allowed the implementation of many useful post-war reforms that removed some of the more repressive aspects of imperial Japanese society and economy. Land

[41] Ibid, 110.

redistribution allowed many peasants to become independent farmers. However, the few factories that survived the 1945 bombings by Allied planes were quickly out of business. The massive labor force that had supported the Japanese war-machine found themselves without jobs. While most laborers had supported the expansion of the military and military based industries to their own benefit, when that base disappeared so did the support. Discontent grew quickly and most people blamed the military for taking advantage of the country's work force.[42]

The economic policies set forth in the pre-War era, however, did not completely disappear after the war. Although much of the tax burden was removed from the agricultural sector, the post-war economic policies promoted domestic production and created a protected industry, similar to in the Meiji era. The Japanese zaibatsu were broken up, but in its place keiretsu organizations developed. While zaibatsu were single monopolistic companies, the keiretsu created large integrated groups and layers of small firms that generated an intense investment driven competition for the market share.[43] The Japanese workers quickly shifted their devotion away from building a strong nation through a strong military, to building a strong nation through a strong economy. Without the massive military expenditures of the pre-war period, the average Japanese found this to be a much easier process.

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[42] Once again hagaisha ishiki.

[43] Laura D'Andrea Tyson and John Zysman, "Developmental Strategy and Production Innovation in Japan," in ***Politics and Productivity: The Real Story of Why Japan Works***, ed. Chalmers A. Johnson, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and John Zysman (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1989), 62.

To the Japanese military man, surrender was never an option. The shame of surrender was burned so deeply into the consciousness of the Japanese that during World War II, Japanese Prisoners of War spoke with shocked disparagement of American POWs who actually asked to have their names reported to their government so that their families would know they were alive. Some Japanese POWs asked to be killed but stated, "If your customs do not permit this, I will be a model prisoner."[44] A small group of officers even attempted to forestall the surrender by holding the Emperor hostage in the Imperial Palace. While they did manage to secure the outer grounds, the soldiers reportedly never truly considered harming the Emperor, only removing those traitors that had convinced him that the war was lost.[45] Those few days in August 1945 before the Occupation Forces landed in Japan were filled with confusion and hopelessness. People were uncertain what was in store for them with an unconditional surrender. As the military lost control of the security situation in Japan, so did the people turn their backs on the military. With the arrival of American troops, the Japanese people looked to not only "reconstructing buildings but also rethinking what it meant to speak of a good life and a good society."[46]

F. CAUSES OF ANTI-MILITARISTIC BACKLASH

As put forth in the previous pages, a number of factors led to the Japanese anti-military feeling following the War. To the average citizen, the defeat by the Allies

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[44] Benedict, 41.

[45] Pacific War Research Society, ***Japan's Longest Day***, 1st trade paperback ed., Toyko: Kodansha International, 2002.

[46] John W. Dower, ***Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II***, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999), 25.

was a result of the ultimate betrayal by the military. The Emperor had been led astray by remnants of the corrupt military and forced to broadcast the surrender in his own voice for all to hear. The Emperor was forced to officially disavow his position as descendant of the Shinto sun goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami and there was even fear that he would have to step down as the ruler of Japan. To the Japanese this was truly the unbearable. As Ruth Benedict stated, "the Japanese Prisoner of War was quite explicit that the reverence given the Imperial Household was separable from militarism and aggressive war policies. The Emperor was to them, however, inseparable from Japan."[47]

As the weeks after the war progressed, growing resentment of the military continued. The Japanese turned their concept of higaisha ishiki against the military. The populace felt, and rightfully so, as if they had been taken advantage of by the military. They had stood by while Allied planes had destroyed entire cities first by fire-bombing and later with the Atomic bombs in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, and had listened to their military leaders say how it might be necessary for the entire Japanese nation all to die "like shattered jewels."[48] The Japanese had lost over 3 million people during the war, and soon the lack of food, adequate shelter and jobs were blamed on the military.

G. SUMMARY

The rise and fall of Japanese Militarism is arguably the most significant event in Asia of the 20th Century. After the fall of the Tokugawa dynasty, in the Meiji era,

[47] Benedict, 32.

[48] Dower, ***Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II***, 22.

the development of a weak representative government, reliant on the military to form a Cabinet, prohibited any formation of a system of checks and balances. The Western European experience provided a roadmap that was essentially used in Japan's "path to modernity." Although the Japanese Meiji era developmental model is considered atypical by Western standards, Japan consciously emulated the West in their development of a modern nation-state, an industrial and liberal capitalist economy, and a parliamentary democracy. They did this by integrating the Western developmental model into their own existing culture and society, but leaving in place the strong militaristic culture of the Tokugawa period.

The Meiji Emperor had, with his genrō, tried to develop a strong central government that would keep the military in check. During the Taishō era, a sick and weak Emperor was unable to participate in the governing of Japan, leading to greater activity by political parties and radical elements. This looked as if it would change during the early Shōwa years, but the death of Premier Tanaka Giichi in November 1929 deeply affected Emperor Hirohito causing him to be much more reserved in his dealings with the Cabinet and the Military.[49] This allowed more control in the decision making process by the Military General Staff. Attempts by the military to control the future of Japan would continue up to the very surrender of Japan in 1945.

After the war, the Japanese turned quickly on the military forces that had been such a major part of their lives and culture for centuries. The Japanese population

[49] Herbert P. Bix, ***Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan***, 1st ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), 218.

was able to make the radical break from the past in order to develop a true democratic and peaceful society. The side effect of this has been the development of a culture of anti-militarism in Japan and distrust of a future emergence of an Imperial Japan by Japan's regional neighbors. As the Japanese military moves into greater global responsibilities, internal and external cultural obstacles will emerge. How, or even if, Japan chooses to face these challenges will likely affect the regional security situation for many years to come.

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III. THE LEGACIES OF WORLD WAR II

To understand why Japan is clearly ready for a strategy of regional and world engagement, it is helpful to understand why they became military "isolationists" after World War II. Even more so, it is important to realize that the legacies of World War II – the "Peace Constitution", civilian control of the military, and the aversion to nuclear weapons were never absolutes, but were adopted to appease the United States, the regional neighbors, and Japanese public opinion. Still, the Japanese modified them as the requirements of defense and Allied, priorities changed.

When the peace constitution was imposed on Japan by American occupiers over 50 years ago, the idea was to assure Japan's own people and their neighbors in Asia that Imperial Japanese forces would never again terrorize the region. Japan's post-World War II National Defense Policy is derived from Article 9 of its Constitution, which states that, "land, sea and air forces will never be maintained, as well as other war potential".[50]

Article 9 was the one of the three main themes that General MacArthur insisted on for the development of the "Peace Constitution". It was put in as a measure of assurance to the Allies and the regional neighbors that Japan would not be able to build up its military might again. The Japanese people, who had become anti-military, even before the end of World War II, favored this portion

[50] Takada Toshihiro, *The Constitution of Japan*, <http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Japan/English/english-Constitution.html> [16 March 2004].

of the constitution. However, the text of Article 9 was written in such a way that depending on its interpretation there was no guarantee that Japan would not rebuild its military. This was noticed by the Chinese representative to the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) in September 1946, when reviewing the final draft of the "Peace Constitution". The FEC wanted a change made, not to Article 9, but to what became Article 66, which basically states that cabinet members must be civilians. This provided a pseudo loop hole for future interpretations, because by not allowing military personnel to hold a cabinet position, it was assumed that there was a functioning military to begin with.[51]

No sooner had the "peace constitution" been adopted than Japanese leaders began to hedge on its central provision. Beginning in 1950, the United States actively encouraged Japan to rearm, in part to take up the slack for American deployments to fight in the Korean War. In deference to the "peace constitution", Japan's new "armed force" was called a National Police force and then renamed a Self-Defense Force (SDF) or 'Jieitai' in 1954. Over time, the SDF has become a very significant military organization. Because Article 9 does not deny Japan the right of self-defense, the Japanese government's interpretation allows for the minimum force necessary for protection.[52] It is on this basis that Japan's overall defense policy was approved in May 1957 by the Cabinet.[53]

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[51] John W. Dower, ***Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II***, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999), 397.

[52] Japan Defense Agency, ***Defense of Japan 2001*** (Urban Connections, 2001), 77.

[53] Ibid, 78.

The basic goal of Japan's current defense policy is the continued promotion of efforts for peace. This requires a credible defense force, to shore up the security arrangements between the United States and Japan.[54]

The SDF has grown from a force of 75,000 personnel when it was the National Police Reserve to just under a quarter of a million personnel today. The SDF organization has been changing very slowly, however, its fundamental structure has remained mostly unchanged in the post-war period. The reason for this stability derives from Japan's cultural and historical context as well as Japan's post-World War II ideology.

The current structure of the SDF is comprised of various units centering on the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF), Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF), and Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF). All are armed organizations which play the central role in Japan's national defense, a goal of the organization. Each force consists of combat units and support units such as supply, maintenance, transport, and medical services to provide the necessary backup to maintain a constant level of equipment and troop performance. This organization is very similar to the United States military, because from the beginning of its development, during the occupation era, Japan received advice from the United States.

The Japanese government tries to avoid drastic changes in the structure of the SDF, so that people, both domestically and internationally, do not feel threatened by

[54] Ibid.

the existence of the SDF. To increase the transparency of the defense policy, Japan has broken it down into four guiding principles.

The first principle is that of being "Exclusively Defense-Oriented". This means that Japan is not allowed to make use of its forces unless there is an armed attack against Japan by another country. If such a case were to occur, Japan can use only that force necessary to repel the attack.[55] It also means that Japan is not allowed any offensive platforms such as long range missiles, bombers, or aircraft carriers.[56]

The second principle is anchored in the premise that Japan must not become a military power. The definition of "military power" is vague at best and is open to interpretation. The Japanese define it, at least in the context of this principle, as not posing a threat to the security of other countries. To achieve this, Japan has maintained their defense spending at one percent of their GNP and adhered to their "Non-Export Principle" of not exporting weapons to foreign countries other than the United States.[57] This principle shows how Japan's current defense policies are still being shaped by the past. Just as Article 9 was adopted to appease Japan's regional neighbors after World War II, today Japan is still adjusting and defining its policies based on the regional fears of past Japanese power.

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[55] Japan Defense Agency Website, <http://www.jda.go.jp/e/index .htm> [18 March 2004].

[56] Mitsuru Kurosawa, Visiting Professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, from Osaka University, Lecturing on Japan's Security Policy at The Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA., 19 November, 2003.

[57] Ibid.

The nuclear legacy in Japan arose from the devastation created by the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But it was the 1954 incident involving the fishing boat "Lucky Dragon #5" that truly propelled anti-nuclear sentiment throughout Japan.[58] On March 1, 1954, the United States conducted a nuclear test at Bikini Atoll. The fallout affected the crew and cargo of the Lucky Dragon #5. Upon return to Japan the nine tons of fish on board the boat were sold in four major cities and eaten by at least 100 people before the contamination was discovered. This caused a national panic known as the "tuna panic". This devastated the fishing industry throughout Japan as people stopped eating marine products. The incident also saw a resurgence of victims from Nagasaki and Hiroshima brought back to public awareness, which furthered fueled the anti-nuclear/peace movement throughout Japan.[59]

The "Peace Constitution" does not prohibit Japan from having nuclear weapons. However, as they are the only country so far to have been on the receiving end of a nuclear attack, they naturally have developed a strong aversion to them. It is because of this aversion, as well as their interpretation of the constitution, that they have developed and adhere to their "Three Non-Nuclear Principles", which is the third of the four guiding principles. These non-nuclear principles forbid Japan to possess, manufacture, or to allow the introduction of nuclear weapons into Japan. This policy is also in line with the Basic Atomic Energy Law of 1956, and the Nuclear

[58] Ibid.

[59] The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, "A-bomb Investigations after the Occupation", <http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/virtual/VirtualMuseum_e/exhibit_e/exh0307_e/exh03078_e.html> [13 August 2004].

Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1976, both of which prohibit Japan from possession and manufacture of nuclear weapons.[60]

The fourth principle, as is true of most democratic states, pertains to "Civilian Control of the Military". Reflecting on Japan's past, it was the power of the defense establishment and its ability to utilize this power that led Japan into a series of aggressive wars ending with World War II. Because of this, Japan has placed its defense community under strict civilian control, to provide the necessary checks and balances to prevent a recurrence of militarism.

A. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DEFENSE AGENCY

The Constitution requires the Prime Minister and other state ministers who comprise the Cabinet to be civilians, thus eliminating the pre-1945 problem of military ministers of the army and navy able to bring down governments by their resignation. The Prime Minister, is the commander-in-chief of the SDF, and is directly responsible to the Cabinet and the Diet for the defense of Japan.[61] He is also the most important official in the defense organization. However, because of the diffusion of authority within the defense organization, the Prime Minister's actual power is limited. A civilian is appointed as Minister of State for Defense, even though it is an agency vice a ministry, who exercises general control over the SDF's activities. Also, civilian counselors are assigned to assist the Minister of State for Defense in formulating basic policies relating to the SDF.

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[60] Japan Defense Agency, ***Defense of Japan 2001*** (Urban Connections, 2001), 79.

[61] Ibid, 79.

The Security Council of Japan is established within the Cabinet as an organ to deliberate important defense matters such as budgetary issues. They also approve recommended defense policies. But the Security Council has very minimal involvement in the everyday business of the Defense Agency. It does not maintain its own staff and, therefore, it does not have much impact on the beginning stages of policy formation. The members of the Security Council tend to reflect or slant their views towards the parent ministries which they represent. Like other governmental decision-making processes, the Security Council's role is to develop a behind-the-scenes consensus first so that, when the Council meets, an agreed upon course of action is easily attainable.[62] Compromises within the organization are common. Even naming the Security Council with that title was a compromise. In 1986, the name "Security Council" vice the "National Security Council" was created out of respect for the opposition parties within the Diet and to tone down the implication of military security.[63] As previously mentioned, the Prime Minister is directly responsible to the Cabinet and the Diet. Before he can take any action in areas dealing with decisions on the Defense Outline, defense planning, mobilization of the SDF, and other matters related to or concerning national defense, he must consult with the Security Council first.[64] Below is an outline of the organization of the Defense Agency and Self-Defense Forces.

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[62] Michael W. Chinworth, ***Inside Japan's Defense: Technology, Economics & Strategy***, (Washington D.C.: Brassey's Inc, 1992), 22-23.

[63] Peter J. Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, ***Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms and Policy Responses in a Changing World***, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 41.

[64] Ibid, 187.

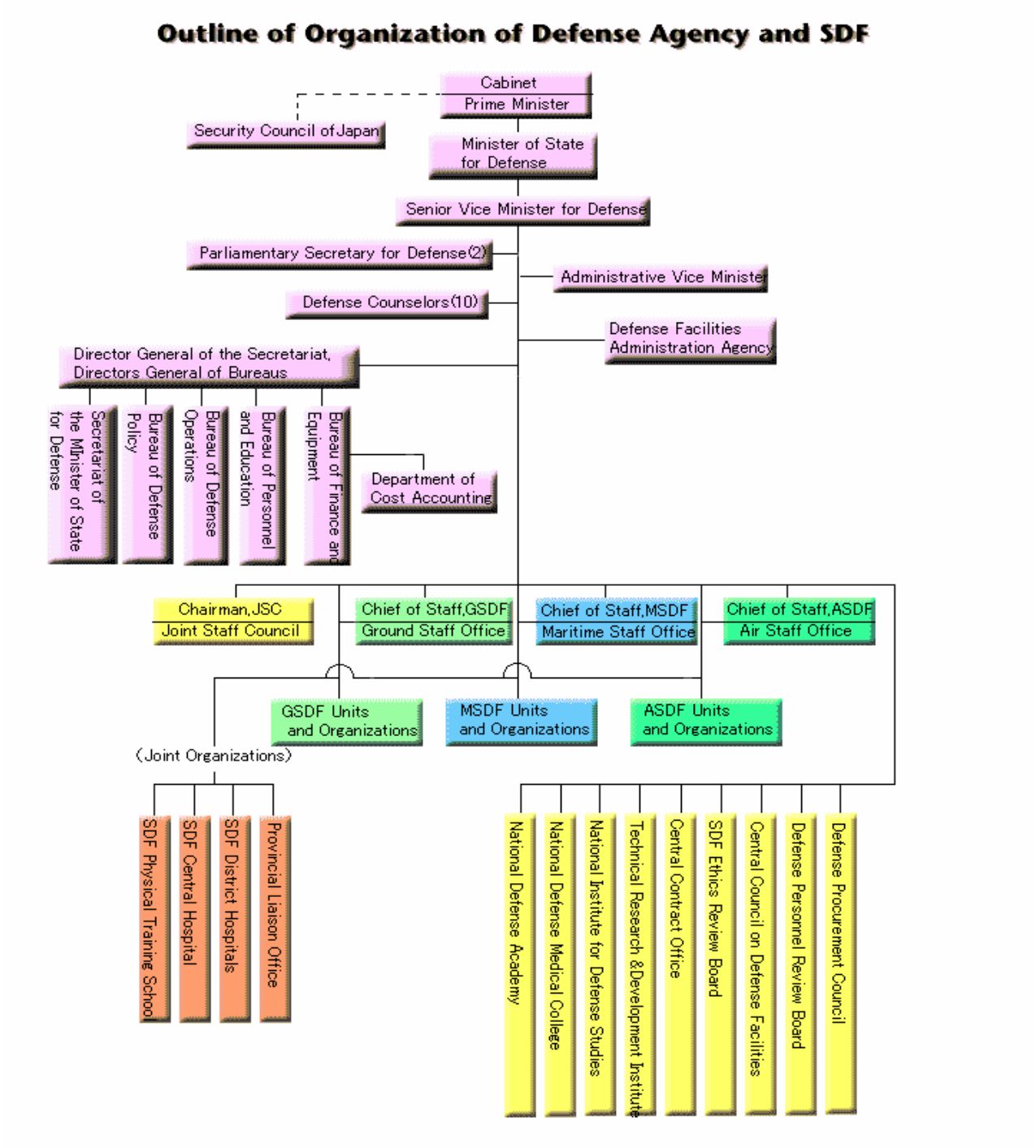

Figure 1. Outline of Organization of Defense Agency and SDF.[65]

[65] Japanese Defense Agency Website, http://www.jda.go.jp/e/index .htm, [18 March 2004].

IV. THE "MILITARIZATION" OF JAPANESE DEFENSE POLICY

As discussed in the previous chapter, the legacies of World War II – The Peace Constitution, civilian control of the military, and the aversion to nuclear weapons – was never absolute. The end of the Cold War and the rise of China has accelerated what might be called the "militarization" of Japanese defense policy.

In the past decade China has prospered economically, giving them the ability to begin modernizing and increasing its military capabilities. In doing so they have built up their missile arsenal along the Taiwan Straits and are actively involved in the proliferation of missile technologies. Since the end of the Cold War China has become more of an assertive power. This is one reason Japan must re-evaluate its defense policy.

The other reason was the end of the Cold War, where Japan was dependent on the United States for its security. Japan was forced to look at the new international order and try to establish where it fits in. There are new factors that are affecting the peace and stability of the Asian region such as terrorist groups and rogue states. Japan has come to the realization that they can no longer use just economics and diplomacy in its foreign policy, but one that has to contribute militarily to the security of the region.

The genesis of Japan's increased willingness to use the military as a tool of foreign policy was a direct result of the 1991 Gulf War, to which Japan contributed $13 million but no troops. In return, Japan received much

international criticism. In fairness, there was little popular support in Japan for sending troops to the Gulf in 1991. Even had popular support existed legally (by their Constitution) Japan did not have any authority to participate in the campaign.[66] This criticism spawned debate within Japan regarding their defense policy and the future roles of its military forces. In June of 1992, after months of bitter debate, the Japanese Parliament approved the "International Peace Cooperation Law". This law allows for the use of military troops overseas for the first time since World War II, enabling Japan to join international peacekeeping forces. It also provides a five principle basis as to how the peacekeeping operations will be carried out. The table below lists the five principals.

Table 2. The Five Principles.[67]

The Five Principles
1) Agreement on a cease-fire shall have been reached among the parties to armed conflicts.
2) Consent for the undertaking of UN peacekeeping operations as well as Japan's participation in such operations has been obtained from the host countries as well as the parties to armed conflicts.
3) The operations shall strictly maintain impartiality not favoring any of the parties to armed conflicts.
4) Should any of the requirements in the above mentioned guideline cease to be satisfied, the Government of Japan may withdraw SDF Units.
5) The use of weapons shall be limited to the minimum necessary to protect the personnel's lives, etc.

[66] Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, ***Strategic Asia 2003-04: Fragility and Crisis***, (The National Bureau of Asian Research Seattle, Washington, 2003), 106.

[67] Japan's Contribution to International Peace Official Website, <http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO E/pref e.html#5rules>, [20 March 2004].

At the time, supporters of the bill said it would enable Japan to go beyond "checkbook diplomacy" and pull its weight in contributing to international security. This legislation also allows for up to 2,000 SDF troops to be dispatched for U.N. peacekeeping operations.[68]

Japan's involvement in U.N. Peacekeeping operations is not merely the result of external pressures, but also the product of a genuine desire to become more involved in world affairs and to promote safety on a global level.[69] The end of Japanese non-interventionism has certainly not come with any haphazard participation in world affairs. Numerous instances since 1992 have exemplified the fact that Japan is quite serious about its new contributory role. In fact, since the government pushed through the Peacekeeping Operations Act, Japan has already sent troops to fix roads and bridges in Cambodia, set up a logistics team in Mozambique, and helped Rwandan refugees stranded in Zaire. At the end of 1995, the Golan Heights became Japan's showcase overseas military operation and the first time it has committed itself to undertaking a mission in the volatile Middle East. Below is a list of the United Nations Peacekeeping - International Humanitarian Relief Operations involving the SDF.

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[68] Richard Holbrooke, "*Japan and the United States:* Ending the Unequal Partnership", ***Foreign Affairs*** (Winter 1991/1992): 51.

[69] Anonymous, "Japan Edges Forward", ***The Economist***, 27 April 1996, 35.

Table 3. PKO and Relief Operations.[70]

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

LOCATION	*DATE*	*DISPATCHED*
CAMBODIA (UNTAC)	SEPTEMBER 1992 TO SEPTEMBER 1993	GSDF -16 TROOPS AS CEASE-FIRE OBSERVERS -TWO 600 MEMBER ENGINEER UNITS MSDF -TWO TRANSPORT SHIPS AND ONE SUPPLY SHIP ASDF -SIX C-130Hs
MOZAMBIQUE (ONUMOZ)	MAY 1993 TO JANUARY 1995	GSDF -TWICE SENT FIVE STAFF OFFICERS -THREE 48 MEMBER MOVEMENT CONTROL UNITS ADSF -ONE C-130H
GOLAN HEIGHTS (UNDOF)	FEBRUARY 1996 TO PRESENT	GSDF -TWO STAFF OFFICERS -ONE 43 MEMBER TRANSPORT UNIT ASDF -ONE C-130H
EAST TIMOR (UNTAET/UNMISET)	OCTOBER 1999 TO PRESENT	GSDF -TEN STAFF OFFICERS -ONE 522 MEMBER ENGINEER UNIT MSDF -ONE TRANSPORT SHIP AND ONE ESCORT SHIP ASDF -ONE C-130H

International Humanitarian Relief Operations

LOCATION	*DATE*	*DISPATCHED*
RWANDA REFUGEES	SEPTEMBER 1994 TO DECEMBER 1994	GSDF -MEDICAL, SANITATION, WATER SUPPLY PERSONNEL ASDF -NUMEROUS FLIGHTS OF C-130Hs
EAST TIMORESE DISPLACED PERSONS	AUGUST 1999 TO FEBRUARY 2000	ASDF -113 MEMBER TRANSPORT UNIT -NUMBEROUS FLIGHTS OF C-130Hs
AFGHAN REFUGEES	OCTOBER 2001	ASDF -SIX C-130Hs

[70] Compiled from Japan's Contributions to International Peace Website, <http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO_E/results_e.html>, [21 March 2004].

A. JAPAN – U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION

In many ways, Japan's commitment to U.N. Peacekeeping efforts can be seen in the context of its changing relationship with the United States. In the past, America has provided for the external security of Japan, allowing Japan to focus its efforts on other areas of national interest. Many have asserted that it is now time for Japan to play a bigger role in its own security, one commensurate with its economic power. And indeed, Japan is responding one step at a time. Since the Persian Gulf War, Japan has begun breaking long-standing security taboos, which started with the passing of its landmark 1992 International Peace Cooperation Law.

In April 1996, Japan and the United States reaffirmed the strength of its bilateral relationship with the "U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security". This declaration was the basis for a study on the "New Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Military Cooperation" in 1997, which calls for greater defense cooperation between the two countries.[71] These guidelines also provided the foundation of the "Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan" in 1999. This law makes it possible for the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) to provide logistical support to U.S. forces in military contingencies near Japan. It does not permit the JSDF to participate in a combatant role.[72]

[71] Mitsuru Kurosawa, Visiting Professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, from Osaka University, Lecturing on Japan's Security Policy at The Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA., 19 November, 2003.

[72] Ibid.

One of the more controversial issues in the Asian region is that of a national missile defense system in Japan. In August 1998, the firing of a North Korean Taepodong missile spurred Japan to further its research on missile defense. Keeping in line with the 1997 guidelines of United States-Japan military cooperation, 1998 brought about the declaration of "Joint Research on Missile Defense" between the U.S. and Japan. Though both countries had conducted their own individual studies on missile defense, the issues with North Korea have provided the impetus for the United States and Japan to combine their efforts and to increase the strength of their alliance.

The country that is primarily concerned with Japan developing a national missile defense system is China. On September 3, 2003, in the first summit between Japanese and Chinese defense leaders in five years, Defense Agency Chief, Shigeru Ishiba infuriated Chinese Defense Minister Cao Gangchuan by disclosing Japan had included funds in the FY 04 budget for the actual deployment of the TMD. The Chinese Defense Minister exploded with fury, stating: "This will lead to the collapse of the global military balance" and "This may cause a new arms race."[73] Although Japan stated that the purpose of TMD is to ward-off the DPRK missile threat, Beijing believes that it is primarily aimed at deterring China. China points to a Japanese Defense Agency, defense white paper released in August 2003 that

[73] Tokyo Sentaku, "China 'Furious' Over Inclusion of MD Deployment Funds in Japan's FY04 Budget," ***Tokyo Sentaku***, Oct 1, 2003, https://portal.rccb.osis.gov/servlet/Search?action=repGetContent&contentid=xml_products:JPP20031007000024&rskey=currentResults&paramkey=currentSearch&idx=0 [28 July 2004].

sounds an alarm over the defense build-up in China and states that of the 150 ballistic missiles in China, half are nuclear and all are aimed at Japan. This leads China to assume that Japan perceives its mid-to long-term threat to be China, not the DPRK. China is also angered over the TMD decision because it threatens to diminish the power of China's missiles and with it China's clout in Asia, and it could be used as an offensive weapon against China.[74]

B. POST-SEPTEMBER 11

In reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and in support of the United States' stance on terrorism, Japan again adopted new laws which expanded the interpretation of "Article 9".

The three new laws, 1) The Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law of 2001, 2) The Law on Armed Contingency in Japan of 2003, 3) The Law Concerning the Special measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, were enacted in a span of three years.

The Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law of 2001 permits Japan to dispatch forces for supply and transportation as well as for repair, maintenance, and medical activities to/for other countries located within the territory of Japan, the Indian Ocean (including the Persian Gulf), Diego Garcia, the territory of Australia, the territories of countries located on the coast of the Indian Ocean and the territories of countries along the routes taken between these specified territories.[75] With this law in effect, Japan dispatched its Maritime Self-

[74] Ibid.

[75] Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/terro0109/policy/plan_o.html>, [22 March 2004].

Defense Forces consisting of refueling ships to refuel coalition warships and Aegis destroyers that participated in "Operation Enduring Freedom" in an anti-terrorism role.[76]

The 2003 Laws on Armed Contingency in Japan are a set of emergency bills that direct Japan's response if ever there is an attack on Japan. These bills are significant for three reasons. First they enhance the reliability of the security arrangement between the United States and Japan. Second, they aim to increase the trust of Japan by other countries, while at the same time strengthening the international order. Third, they seek to deter a potential attack on Japan by making clear the nature of Japan's response. Although Japan remains a nation averse to military action except as a last resort, recent world events have caused Japan to review its security options.[77]

Finally, the Law Concerning the Special measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq was passed to assist in the reconstruction effort in Iraq. Japan has a vested interest in the region as Iraq is a one of Japan's largest suppliers of oil.[78] This law explains that Japan's SDF and support personnel will provide medical and water supply services, rehabilitation and maintenance of schools and other public facilities, all while

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[76] I was aboard the USS HIGGINS (DDG 76) while deployed to the Middle East from November 2002 to February 2003 and witnessed the re-supply of coalition warships from a JMSDF refueling ship prior to entering the Arabian Gulf as well as a JMSDF Aegis destroyer participating in patrols of the Gulf of Oman.

[77] Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/security/legistlation.html>, [22 March 2004].

[78] Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, ***Strategic Asia 2003-04: Fragility and Crisis***, (The National Bureau of Asian Research Seattle, Washington, 2003), 91.

maintaining a close relationship with the relevant embassies or countries for coordination purposes.[79]

In carrying out these new roles, Japan is careful to ensure that the activities of the SDF remain non-offensive. As China is overly sensitive to almost any change in the U.S.-Japan alliance, adopting non-threatening roles will help Japan avoid misunderstandings within the region.[80]

C. REGIONAL CHALLENGES

Japan's military capabilities have increased since 1996 as a result of redefining the U.S.-Japan alliance that broadens Japan's strategic role in the region. Japan began engaging in anti-piracy and mine-sweeping activities, and JMSDF warships participated in more high profile missions in the Indian Ocean during the war against terrorism in Afghanistan.[81] These new roles that Japan's JSDF are engaging in are creating some challenges for Japan in dealing with its regional neighbors.

1. China

Japan and China have had thirty-two years of normalized relations, the majority of which have been economic in nature. Security issues between the two countries did not really begin to evolve until the beginning of the Korean War. At the urging of the United States, Japan established a defense force which in turn caused China to begin spending more on defense. The two countries, however, never directly came into military

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[79] Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle e/iraq/issue2003/law o.html>, [22 March 2004].

[80] Michael E. Brown, et al. eds., The Rise of China (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000) p. 137.

[81] See note 76.

contact. Both countries strived not to become directly involved with each other militarily. This was a difficult feat as their respective allies were immersed in the Cold War. A major step in maintaining this "separation of forces" was the Bandung conference of 1955. This conference at which both Japanese and Chinese delegates were present, agreed that the foreign policy of both countries would be one of peaceful co-existence.[82]

Until 1971, neither the Japanese nor the Chinese had a clearly defined bilateral security relationship towards each other. They were able to maintain their security relations without labeling one a security threat to the other.[83] It was the Chinese–United States Communiqué of 1972 that brought the security issue to the forefront for both Japan and China. The Chinese–United States relationship provoked both Japan and China to reevaluate their security policies towards one another and the rest of the Asian Pacific region. Instead of looking at each other as potential adversaries, Japan and China viewed their relationship as a way to provide a stabilizing element in the security of the Asian Pacific region. They would "become part of what Henry Kissinger called, the new structure of peace".[84]

With recent developments in the world such as the North Korean nuclear issue and the "War on Terror" Japan has been expanding its defense policies and roles, a trend that has caught China's attention. Japan needs to be careful about its approach to new engagement policies in

[82] Christopher Howe, ***China and Japan: History, Trends, and Prospects***, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 48.

[83] Ibid, 50.

[84] Ibid.

the 21st Century with regards to China. China perceives these activities as a combined effort by the United States and Japan to continue their Cold War method of bilateral relationships for three reasons: first it aims to maintain U.S. hegemony within the region; second it seeks to increase Japan's regional power; finally, it looks to contain China.[85]

China's concern about the increasing military role of Japan within the U.S.-Japan alliance was laid out by Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Shen Guofang in 2002: "…We hope the bilateral defense arrangement between Japan and the United States will not go beyond its bilateral nature and will not touch any third party."[86] Analysts at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) Institute of Japanese Studies believe that "China is the new objective of the alliance."[87] The Chinese are also afraid that, within the new guidelines of the alliance, the United States does not plan on keeping Japan in check militarily, thus allowing Japan to engage in "collective self-defense", e.g. join an alliance aimed at containing Beijing. Under the umbrella of the alliance, this would allow, should the need arise, Japan to aid the United States militarily if a conflict ever developed between China and the United States.[88]

Although China has been concerned with the redefinition of the alliance between Japan and the United

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[85] Robert Sutter, "China and Japan: Trouble Ahead?" ***The Washington Quarterly 25.4,*** 2002, pp. 37-44.

[86] Banning Garrett, "Chinese Apprehensions about Revitalization of the U.S.-Japan Alliance." ***Asian Survey: vol37, no.4***, 1997, p. 387.

[87] Ibid, p.388.

[88] Ibid, p. 390.

States and Tokyo's new "engagement" policies, China would be just as concerned if there were a deterioration of the U.S.-Japan alliance because Japan could potentially become the most powerful, independent, and remilitarized country within the East Asian region. This could destabilize the entire region.[89]

2. Taiwan

The formal ties between Japan and Taiwan go back to 1895 and the Treaty of Shimonoseki in which China ceded Taiwan to Japan at the end of the Sino-Japanese War. Japan continued to rule over Taiwan until the end of World War II. Taiwan presents an interesting dilemma for Japan both economically and politically. Economically Japan is the fourth largest trading country involved in Taiwan and politically there is a non-governmental working relationship between the two countries that is in accordance with the Japan-China Joint Communiqué of 1972.

Japan and Taiwan are not that different with regards to the achievements of Japan and the goals of Taiwan. In a presidential press conference delivered on February 3, 2004, President Chen Shui Bian stated that security and independence are the two major goals for Taiwan. He also identified democracy and economics as the two avenues that are key to achieving international recognition and independence.[90] These two goals and strategies, should Taiwan achieve them, are very similar to those that have made Japan a successful nation.

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[89] Ibid, p. 396.

[90] President Chen's Press Conference, Presidential Statement, Press Conference, February 3, 2004. <http://www.mac.gov.tw/english/english/macpolicy/c930203e.htm> [4 August 2004].

Taiwan should support Japan's new defense policies and its strategy of taking on a larger military role with in the region. This allows Taiwan to work towards improving its relations with Japan and, hopefully, enhancing its status in the Asia-Pacific region. Through its relations with Japan, the door could be opened for Taiwan to push for its independence from China.

If Japan and Taiwan where to come to terms and form a mutual security treaty, China would undoubtedly break off its relations with Japan because it would then perceive Japan as a threat. This would also increase the tensions that already exist between China and Taiwan. As is, Japan's alliance with the United States obligates Tokyo to aid the United States militarily should the United States ever be involved in the defense of Taiwan. However, rather than seek confrontation, Tokyo prefers a peaceful resolution of the Japan-Taiwan-China issue.[91]

3. Southeast Asia

Relations between Japan and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) began informally in 1973 and were formalized in 1977. The relations between ASEAN and Japan have predominantly been economic. Some of the shared security interests between ASEAN and Japan include maritime safety against piracy and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) which provides for a multilateral security dialogue between Japan and the ASEAN countries. In December 2003, Japan declared its intent to accede to the treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). This treaty

[91] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Diplomatic Bluebook 2003. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2003/chap2-a.pdf> [4 August 2004], 37.

basically commits those states involved to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries in the region.[92]

The fact that the security relations between Japan and the countries of ASEAN have only recently begun does not rule out the premise that the ASEAN countries would oppose Japan assuming a greater military role within the region. In the view of ASEAN, the value of a more assertive Japan would be to balance the growing power of China.

Increasingly, Japan is regarded as a "balancer" in the region. The historical legacy of Japanese imperialism in Southeast Asia is receding in the popular mind, as evidenced in a 1998 Southeast Asian public opinion poll, where the "overwhelming majority of the respondents saw Japan as a trustworthy partner that would not become a military threat".[93] So, within the context of Southeast Asia, Japan must tread a careful path between self-defense, balance of power, and security threat as per World War II.

4. Russia

The basic bilateral relationship between Japan and Russia revolves around geography and economics. Since the mid-1700s, Japan and Russia advanced rival claims to the Kurile Islands. The Japanese and Russian views of one another are based on this long history of competitive aims in the North Pacific and North Asia generally between the two countries.

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[92] Richard Hanson, "Japan, ASEAN celebrate 30-year relationship." ***Asia Times Online***, 13 December 2003. <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Japan/EL13Dh04.html> [4 August 2004].

[93] Richard J. Ellings and Aaron L. Friedberg, ed. ***Strategic Asia 2003-2004: Fragility and Crisis*** (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2003), 284.

Russo-Japanese trade relations are centered on Siberia. Siberia has the potential to be a major supplier of energy for Japan. Siberia has reserves of oil, natural gas, timber, coal, and ores that are necessary to Japan, a resource importer. Between 1968 and 1981, Japan has developed six agreements with Russia relating to the development of Siberian natural resources.[94]

Since 1963, Japan and Russia have utilized coastal trade as a means to supplement regular trade. It is and remains a modest trade, but one which calls for maintaining a bilateral relationship that benefits both countries.[95] Included in the coastal trade is the fishing economy. This is one of the oldest points of contact between the two countries. Competition over access to fishing territories has existed for centuries. Prior to World War II, Japan enjoyed fishing rights off the coast of Kamchatka. These fishing territories were protected by the Imperial Japanese Navy. After World War II, the Russians took control of this territory as well as Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles, which gave them an offshore economic zone of 100 miles.[96] This put a damper on economic bilateral relations until the signing of a fisheries treaty in the late 1970's.

Overall, the Japanese – Russian economic bilateral relationship is much like that of Japan and China in that despite other on going bilateral problems the economic relationship tends to be ongoing and sustained.

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[94] Herbert J. Ellison, ***Japan and The Pacific Quadrille: The Major Powers in East Asia***, (Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado, 1987), 143.

[95] Ibid, 142-143.

[96] Ibid, 143.

Japanese territorial claims have proven the Achilles heel of Russo-Japanese relations since the early 1950s. In 1956, the two countries signed a joint declaration to restore diplomatic relations. They also agreed to continue negotiating for a peace treaty, although the normalization of diplomatic relations benefited Japan only marginally.[97]

These territorial issues tended to be a real divider when it came to political relations during the 1970's. Although economic relations flourished, the political relations were obstructed because neither country was willing to alter their respective position with regards to territorial issues.

In 1978, the signing of the Sino-Japanese peace treaty setback Russo-Japanese relations, because the Russians felt that Japan was taking a more overt anti-Russian stance. Relations between the two countries were degraded considerably because of this treaty, and remained that way through out the 1980's. Japan maintained that the normalization of relations between Russia and Japan could not, and would not, be conducted until Russia was willing to return the "Northern Territories".[98]

More recent events such as the Ikurtsk Statement of 2001, which reaffirms the 1956 Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration, and the 1983 Tokyo Declaration, have seen both countries striving to settle the Northern territories issue in an effort to sign a peace treaty.[99]

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[97] Ronald E. Dolan and Robert L. Worden, ***Japan: A Country Study***, (Washington, D.C. : Federal Research Division, Library of Congress : For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 403-404.

[98] Ibid, 405.

[99] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Diplomatic Bluebook 2003. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2003/chap2-a.pdf> [6

As far as North Korea is concerned Russia and Japan see eye to eye. In February 2004, Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexander Losyukov, stated:

> Russia and Japan are active and keen participants in the negotiating process on the questions of resolving the Korean situation. We have common objectives - the necessity to ensure the nuclear-free status of this sub-region and to maintain the regime of security and nonproliferation there, as well as to achieve this by peaceful means.[100]

With regards to more general security issues, Losyukov pointed out that, "Russia and Japan belong among the leading states of this region." They are continuing to cooperate within the international antiterrorist coalition. The two countries have established relations between their defense and security agencies. Their goal is to maintain and strengthen the military-political stability of the Northeast Asia region.[101]

5. The Korean Peninsula

Like other countries within the East Asian region North and South Korea share a common history with Japan. In 1910, Korea was annexed by Japan and remained under Japanese control until the end of World War II. Korea was then divided, with the North befriended by the Soviet Union while the South fell into the orbit of the United States. This division of the peninsula has affected the security

August 2004], 88.

[100]Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander Losyukov's Interview with ITAR-TASS News Agency on the Questions of Russian-Japanese Relations. 13 February 2004. < http://66.102.7.104/search?q=cache:chylN6TCXoYJ:www.ln.mid.ru/bl.nsf/0/31c7e29150fb4f38c3256e390051c54c%3FOpenDocument+%22russian+deputy+minister+of+foreign+affairs+alexander+losyukov%27s+interview%22&hl=en> [6 August 2004].

[101] Ibid.

relationships between the two Koreas as well as the security relationship between the Koreas, the Asian region, and the world.

a. South Korea

Within the East Asian region, Japan and South Korea hold similar views on issues dealing with security. Both countries have independent security relations with the United States and both view North Korea as a serious security issue.

As with other nations in the East Asia region, Japan and South Korea are bound together economically. Japan is the second leading trading partner of South Korea. Because of the North Korean issue and China's ever increasing economic and military power, it is essential that South Korea and Japan continue to increase their level of military cooperation in order to protect the economic relations between the two countries.

Starting in 1994 South Korea and Japan began improving their military-to-military relations with South Korean naval ships visiting Japan. In 1995, Korea returned the hospitality to visiting JMSDF ships by having them visit Pusan.[102] Further relations were developed in 1999 when the two navies held their first combined exercises off the coast of Pusan.[103] Though the two navies have had successful relations, thus far Japan is slow to allow its Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) to participate in any

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[102] Sang-Woo Rhee and Tae-Hyo Kim, ed., ***Korea-Japan Security Relations*** (Seoul: Oruem, 2000), 104.

[103] Shinobu Miyachi, "Korea-Japan military ties take the heat off US" ***Asia Times Online***, 18 November 1999. < http://www.atimes.com/japan-econ/AK18Dh02.html> [7 August 2004].

combined exercise with South Korean forces due to Japan's military history on Korean soil.

Japan's colonial legacy in Korea also color Seoul's attitude to Japan's increasing military role within the region and the world. However, the 7 June 2004 announcement by the United States that they are reducing the number of U.S. troops in South Korea may force Seoul to welcome a new, expanding military presence by Japan, as Japan is South Korea's closest friendly neighbor when dealing with North Korea. Perhaps the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea will provide the catalyst for a Japan-South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty.

b. North Korea

Relations between Japan and North Korea, especially as of late, have not been very successful. Japan views North Korea as its most probable threat within the East Asian region. Normal relations, let alone security relations, between the two countries has been rough due to the unpredictability of North Korean behavior. Currently, six-way talks are underway to resolve the biggest issue concerning North Korea, which is the revitalization of its nuclear program. Though this is not the only reason that relations between Japan and North Korea have been unsuccessful, there have been a series of recent events that have hampered Japanese-North Korean relations.

On 31 August, 1998, North Korea launched a Taepodong-1 medium range ballistic missile which flew over Northern Japan and fell into the Pacific Ocean. North Korea claimed that the missile was carrying a satellite which they had intended to put into orbit. No information

has so far been collected from the North Korean "satellite", nor has any Western tracking system been able to detect it in orbit.[104] In response to this missile test, Japan suspended its food aid to North Korea and stated that it would resume the aid once North Korea took the appropriate steps to curb its development of ballistic missiles as well as its nuclear weapons program.[105]

The second event is especially noteworthy because it marks the first time that the JMSDF has opened fire on a vessel for reasons other than self-defense. On March 22, 1999, two North Korean spy boats were detected in Japanese territorial waters. The spy boats did not stop despite JMSDF destroyer warning shots from their 5 inch guns, and JMSDF P-3C Orions 150kg warning bombs dropped near the suspect boats. The spy boats evaded pursuit from the JMSDF and returned to their homeport of Chongchin, North Korea.[106]

In December of 2001, a vessel similar to that of the spy boats was detected off the coast of Japan. The Japanese Defense Agency ordered the Japanese Coast Guard to detain the vessel for questioning. As in the second event, warning shots ignored. Instead, the suspect vessel fired back. This resulted in the subsequent sinking of the suspect vessel with all hands by the Japanese Coast Guard. In an effort to determine the origin of the boat, the Chinese worked in conjunction with Japan to raise and

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[104] "First Taepodong 1 Launch Carried A Satellite." ***Jane's Missiles and Rockets***. 01-Oct-1998, EDITION: 1998, VOLUME/ISSUE: 002/010.

[105] "No capitulation, no food: Komura to Pyongyang." ***The Japan Times***, 13 August 1999. <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/getarticle.pl5?nn19990813a4.htm > [9 August 2004].

[106] Keizo Nabeshima, "In the wake of the spy boats." ***The Japan Times***, 7 April 1999. <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/getarticle.pl5?eo19990407a2.htm> [9 August 2004].

salvage the boat. Upon investigating the wreckage, all evidence has led to the probability of the boat being North Korean.[107]

The last issue that hinders relations between the two countries is the issue of the Japanese citizens abducted by the North Koreans. During the 1970's and early 1980's young Japanese were kidnapped by North Koreans to be used for teaching the Japanese language to North Korean spies. It was not until September of 2002 that Kim Jong Il admitted to and apologized to the Japanese for the abductions.[108] Kidnapping has joined the issue of North Korean nuclear weapons as the main topic of negotiation in the six party talks conducted in Beijing.[109]

As North Korea is closed and extremely unpredictable, it is difficult to determine what their reaction might be if Japan increased its security/military role in the East Asian region.

On first glance, the North Koreans might think that, if Japan pulls out from under the United States security umbrella, Japan might want to strengthen regional relations, to include North Korea. This would be good for North Korea because they would gain access to Japan's economic might throughout the region.

On the other hand, Japan could increase its threat evaluation of North Korea, and therefore increase

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[107] The National Institute for Defense Studies Japan, ***East Asian Strategic Review 2002***, (Tokyo: 2002), 331.

[108] Hans Greimel, "After quarter century, Japanese abductees return to Tokyo from North Korea" ***IDSnews.com***, 16 October 2002. <http://www.idsnews.com/story.php?id=12315> [9 August 2004].

[109] "Japan, N Korea discuss kidnapped," ***BBC News***, 11 February 2004. < http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3478835.stm> [9 August 2004].

its military capabilities in the form of nuclear weapons to be able to deter a very unpredictable nuclear capable neighbor.

D. SUMMARY

In 1992, Japan made a major transitory move with regard to its defense policy. As a result, the country has enjoyed considerable praise and only mild criticism because of its reluctance to participate in globally-important military operations. History, however, makes it markedly evident that Japan entered into its 1992 decision, not because of global pressures or because of any major change of heart, but from an inherent belief that Japan must become engaged in the world to defend its interests. That belief forms a central tenet of Japanese ideology, which had been suppressed during the post-World War II years. The Japanese people had became so accustomed to their post-1945 pacifist theme that they convinced themselves that a policy of dependence on the United States for security was the only way for them to survive. However, the changes that have occurred in the world during the past decade have forced Tokyo to revise its view on engagement with the outside world.

As it would seem, the international criticism that some say led to Japan's ultimate decision in 1992, did have an effect on the country's subsequent defense policy. Japan did not decide to become active in U.N. Peacekeeping simply because the rest of the world wanted them to. Japan became active because the rest of the world (particularly the United States) helped them realize that their current, but outdated, defense policy was not suited to the new age of international challenges.

With that in mind, there are a multitude of scenarios with and reactions from countries within the East Asian region that may arise in the future, should Japan continue its new engagement policies. Japan's future course depends on current issues such as the North Korean nuclear issue, the Global War on Terror, and Japan's role in Humanitarian Assistance and Reconstruction in Iraq as well as other countries. All of these factors are going to play a significant role in Japan's continuing dilemma of just how involved they should become militarily within the East Asian region.

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V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Japan's imperial past that led directly to World War II in Asia has left a legacy of anti-militarism domestically as well as a severe distrust of Japan throughout the region. This is a sticking point that is brought up continually in Japan's relations with other countries as well as within domestic politics. This legacy along with civilian control of the military, the lack of which contributed immensely to Japan's march to war in the 1930's, and the aversion to nuclear weapons was supposedly resolved with the process of post-war reconstruction, and the adoption of the "Peace Constitution". However, these legacies of World War II were never set in stone, even during the period immediately following the war. Rather, they were adjusted to fit the reality of Japan's security situation during the Cold War. Now, with the rapidly evolving security geography in Asia, Japan appears poised to jettison principles that for six decades were considered the bedrock of Tokyo's security policy.

Since the inception of the "Peace Constitution" in 1947, Japan has gradually reinterpreted the wording of Article 9 to expand and restructure the JSDF from a police force to a credible military deterrent. However, the "Peace Constitution," together with a robust U.S. military presence in the region, has allowed the JSDF to maintain a low profile. Nor have the Japanese seriously considered their security requirements.

It is evident today that Japan is seriously rethinking its defense commitments, to include the roles and missions

of the JSDF. The JSDF is acquiring new technologies and capabilities. While there is a growing acceptance of the JSDF within domestic politics, recent legislation allowed the JSDF to deploy to Iraq in support and reconstruction capacity. There is even evidence of Tokyo's willingness to join in a TMD system.

The legacies of the "Peace Constitution", civilian control of the military, and the aversion to nuclear weapons are slowly becoming a vision of the past as Japan begins its new military engagement policies. The vision of the future for Japanese defense is being shaped by the emerging global security situation. It is forcing Japan to develop plans to deal with new threats and diverse contingencies such as cyber, and NBC (nuclear, biological, chemical) attacks. Japan is also taking positive and proactive steps to bring greater stability to the international security environment by participating in United Nations peacekeeping missions. Hopefully, Japan will be able to meet these new emerging challenges in a manner that is acceptable to its regional neighbors.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

Japan needs to emerge from under the security umbrella of the United States and become a military power commensurate with its economic power. The best way for Japan to accomplish this is to maintain its economic, diplomatic, and military relations with its neighbors to reassure them that the imperialistic Japan of the past will not return. It also needs to continue its interpretation of the "Peace Constitution" to the point of revising it to reflect the current international security environment. No

matter what happens Japan will play a crucial role in the security of the East Asian region.

B. FURTHER RESEARCH AREAS

The following are some proposed areas of research that have arisen out of the research conducted for this thesis. What would be the implications of Japan and the Asian-Pacific region developing a Theater Missile Defense (TMD) system? In light of the growing power of China, what form might future security alliances take in the Asian-Pacific region? If the North Korean situation is not resolved, will Japan develop nuclear weapons? Future research in these areas would be useful for the soundness of U.S. foreign policy.

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